7· Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper.[1] Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakaakiin*) are concentrated in the *saḥa*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, farther down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *saḥa*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Waṣṭiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Dayr al-Qassiis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *saḥa*, and a fourth at Ḥilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mash from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

252 256 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *ṣaḥa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays 256 427 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do [432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) [804] per *rṭl* (the *rṭl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

258 [471] The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

258 ● 402 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Waaṭiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. [404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

Middle East mj
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

 L

the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate. 258 402

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINES

The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Munṣif was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Taqla, in Shaykhan, and Mar Maama are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, as far as we know, as that in Hawran where the Munṣifiin claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism. 795 [771]

Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 523). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 53 (Bliss, 1912, p. 41). The Ghassanid tribe of Syria, from which the Munṣifiin assume descent, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1947, p. 78). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 523). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusion as to when and how the ancestors of the Munṣifiin became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, *is* revealed: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is *not* a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hourani, 1946, p. 124). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Bliss, 1912, p. 13). ME 795 L 795

Munṣif belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Bliss (1912, p. 44) and Zankov (1929, p. 19) emphasize the point